The German Revolution.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT AND SOLIDARITY OF ACTION.

VOL. X. No. 7. SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1923. WEEKLY.

FROM DAWN TO DAWN.

By Morris Rosenfeld.

I bend o'er the wheel at my sewing;
I'm spent; and I'm hungry for rest;
No curse on the master bestowing,—
No hell-fires within me are glowing,—
Tho' pain flares its fires in my breast.

I mar the new cloth with my weeping,
And struggle to hold back the tears;
A fever comes over me, sweeping
My veins; and all through me goes creeping
A host of black terrors and fears.

The wounds of the old years ache newly;
The gloom of the shop hems me in;
But six o'clock signals come duly;
O, freedom seems mine again, truly . . .
Unhindered I haste from the din.

Now home again, ailing and shaking,
With tears that are blinding my eyes,
With bones that are creaking and breaking
Unjoyful of rest . . . merely taking
A seat; hoping never to rise.

I gaze round me: none for a greeting!
By Life for the moment unpressed,
My poor wife lies sleeping—and beating
A lip-tune in dream false and fleeting,
My child mumbles close to her breast.

I look on them weeping in sorrow,
And think: "When the Reaper has come—
When finds me no longer the morrow—
What aid then?—from whom will they
borrow
The crust of dry bread and the home?

"What harbours that morrow," I wonder,
"For them when the breadwinner's gone?—
When sudden and swift as the thunder
The bread-bond is broken asunder,
And friend in the world there is none."

A numbness my brain is o'ertaking . . .
To sleep for a moment I drop:
Then start! . . In the east light is breaking!—
I drag myself, ailing and aching,
Again to the gloom of the shop.

EXISTING.

In Glasgow.

13,195 houses occupied by 58,000 people are officially declared unfit for human habitation.

Sixty-six per cent. of Glasgow houses contain only one or two rooms.

In Edinburgh

A young man guilty of incest declared he was driven to it by overcrowding.

In Cowdenbeath, Fifeshire.

A family of four adults and four children occupy one room.

Three separate families occupy a two-roomed apartment.

Two separate families live in one room.

Five people live in a scullery.

Nine adults and three children live in two rooms.

Eleven adults and five children live in two rooms.

In Lanarkshire.

69.3 per cent. of the houses consist of one or two rooms.

In Hamburg.

Every family of five persons is allowed six rooms. Whoever retains more than this allowance of rooms is taxed in proportion to find rooms for the homeless.

The Labour Party Unemployment Bill.

As one re-reads this Bill, already introduced in several sessions, one wonders how it can be that the Labour Party rank and file who may be themselves unemployed at any time, have tolerated this iniquitous measure being foisted upon them as their own proposal.

Indeed, there is nothing in the Bill for which a Tory or Liberal Government need hesitate to make itself responsible.

Should the Bill be handed down to future generations, historians will surely say that the Labour leaders of our time were unable to read and write, spoke only a rude dialect, and were quite unable to understand legal phraseology or Parliamentary technicalities. Therefore, they induced a clerk in one of the Government offices to draft this Bill. The clerk, being bribed thereto by some Machiavellian politician, played a trick on the Labour leaders, and drafted a Bill in their name, with provisions which were quite opposite to their wishes. If any records remain showing that such a person existed as Mr. Walton Newbold, the Right-Wing Communist M.P. for Motherwell, and M.A. of Victoria University; and if any copies of "Hansard" remain to prove his support to the bogus measure, the historians will have difficulty in accounting for his action. Eventually they will probably decide that the strain of attempting to follow the gyrations of Third International policy destroyed his eyesight, so that he was unable to read the Bill.

Government by Order in Council.

An incontrovertible proof that the betrayal of the illiterate Labour leaders of the twentieth century was by a Whitehall clerk, historians will cite specially the following passages:

8. There shall be transferred to the Minister of Labour:

(a) Such of the powers and duties of a Secretary of State with regard to aliens as His Majesty in Council may by order prescribe, other than the power of making an expulsion order.

6. There shall be transferred to the Minister of Labour all the powers and duties of the Board of Trade and of a Secretary of State relating to the regulation of the hours and conditions of labour as His Majesty in Council may from time to time by Order prescribe.

The historians will point out that it had long been an axiom, not merely amongst Radicals, but amongst all who professed any respect for democratic and Parliamentary institutions, that Government by Order in Council, instead of by the sanction of popularly elected representatives, was indefensible.

Having observed this most obvious fault, the historians will point out that the most vital things in the Bill are left to the Minister of Labour to decide, Parliament again being ignored; for instance:

9.—(1) The Minister of Labour shall establish and maintain, in such districts as he thinks fit, such institutons, including receiving houses for temporary accommodation and residential colonies, as he shall deem requisite. . . .

(3) When any person who is admitted to any such institution has a wife or a child or children or any other person legally dependent on him, **the Minister of Labour may, if he thinks fit, grant to such person so admitted, and to such wife, or the person in charge of such child or children, or other dependent person, such amount of financial assistance, and under such conditions as the Minister of Labour may direct.**"

The Labour experts in bureaucracy lay much stress upon the fact that the Bill would unite under the Ministry of Labour many functions now scattered amongst various departments.

The historians of the future will realise, like the unemployed of to-day, that such administrative arrangements will not put food in the stomachs of the workless.

Several clauses are devoted to declaring that the Minister of Labour shall advise the Treasury and other Government Departments how public and private work may be organised so as to maintain a constant level of employment throughout the year.

Certain trades may be declared by any order of the Minister of Labour to be "casual labour of an undesirable character." In that case the Minister may make it obligatory to engage workers through the Employment Exchange, if taken on for not less than one month. It is expressly provided that no employer shall be required to employ or engage any particular person, or be limited in his choice of which persons he shall employ. Nevertheless, the unemployed worker under this Labour Party Bill may be refused maintenance for refusal to work for a particular employer.

Poor Farms.

The most important and dangerous clause in the Bill is clause 9 (already quoted), which directs that the "Minister of Labour shall establish receiving houses and day and residential colonies for the unemployed, granting, if he thinks fit, maintenance to their dependants."

This is no new provision; it is the old iniquitous plan of treating the unemployed worker as a convict, and breaking up the family.

The Bill says that admission to such institutions shall be voluntary, and that the inmates may leave at any time. So it is with

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the workhouse and other institutions already organised under the Poor Law and under the Unemployed Workmen Act established by Mr. Walter Long in Mr. Balfour's Conservative administration in 1905.

The element of compulsion comes in under the existing institutions when the stipulation is made that if the applicant refuses the institution, no other assistance will be granted.

Would this be the case under the Labour Party Unemployment Bill? There is no provision to the contrary.

Moreover, is it intended that unemployment insurance, towards which the worker has contributed, shall be made dependent upon acceptance of the institution?

Is it intended that unemployment insurance should be affected by this scheme? Or is unemployment insurance to remain, as at present, inadequate to support the unemployed worker; this scheme being merely a variation of the present Poor Law expedient which partially stops the insurance gaps?

Local Committees.

The compulsion of the Local Committees it is proposed to establish is by no means happy. Half the members are to belong to the Council (borough, urban, district, or county), the other half are to be nominated and are to include the managers of employment exchanges and representatives of wage earners and of employers of labour.

Physical Efficiency.

As to the rate of maintenance, the Bill lays down no scale whatsoever. It merely says that when an unemployed person has applied at the Labour Exchange for work, "and no work has been found for him, and he has not meanwhile been admitted to any institution," at the next meeting of the Council it shall provide either suitable employment, or within three days:

> "Make such conditions as may be prescribed by the Council as will ensure such applicant, and those legally dependent upon him, shall not be without such maintenance as the medical officer of health of the Council may certify to be necessary to maintain such unemployed person and his dependants in a state of physical efficiency."

Observe that neither the unemployed person's accustomed standard of life, the Trade Union rate of wages, nor the happiness and comfort that we might all of us consider necessary, are to be the standards on which maintenance shall be based. The unemployed person and those who are legally—note the cruel word "legally"—dependent upon him are merely to be maintained in what an official declares to be a state of physical efficiency. The fodder basis once more—and this is the demand of a **Labour** Party!

Punitive Provisions.

Note further:

> "15—(2) The duty of the Council either to provide employment or to secure the provision of maintenance for every such person shall not extend to the provision of employment or maintenance to any such person who—
>
> "(a) has refused employment offered under conditions which, in the opinion of the Council, upon a report of the manager or advisory committee of the employment exchange, are not lower as regards wages or hours of labour than those commonly obtaining for such employment within their area; or
>
> "(b) has been offered and has refused reasonable employment in connection with the execution of work provided under this Act, and who, in the opinion of the employment committee, upon a report of the medical officer of health of the Council, is physically able to undertake such work; or
>
> "(c) has been offered and has refused without reasonable cause maintenance under training provided in accordance with this Act."

See how Labour is proving itself "fit to govern" from the royal old wage-slavery-cum-charity-organisation standpoint.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

They were carrying away the policeman who had been on point duty.

"Some crazy fellow drove his car into him," a tall man who could see over the rest of the crowd informed those who were crushing in at the back. "It's all over now."

A chorus of reproof and execration of the unknown motorist rose from the dispersing bystanders.

"It's a very unusual incident," observed Collett.

"Well, I should say it ought to be! Not very nice for a chap to be stuck there all day looking after the traffic, and for someone to run him down!" Jackson blustered.

"The risk to the policeman on point duty is remarkably slight. I can't remember ever hearing of such an accident before," Collett mused. "Do you know, Penman, whether statistical records of such accidents are published, and what the percentage of accidents per man amounts to? It must be exceedingly small. I shall get someone to ask a question about it. I wonder if Webb would think it worth his while. It is quite a new point to me. Do you know if any statistical records are published?"

"It seems to me that the minute risk of being run down is much less important than the intolerable boredom of having to spend one's life on point duty, or any other loafing about sort of police duty, for that matter!" Frank Penman answered. "Just fancy having to stand there like a post for hours! It's monstrous!"

"What a dreamer you are!" said Jackson. "You happen to be a painting parasite, but some people must do a bit of useful work You ought to be made to grow spuds!"

"Perhaps you're right about that. At any rate, perhaps I ought to produce something utilitarian part of the time, since other people have to; but I don't see why anyone should be condemned to stand on point duty all day. That isn't work! Collett would be employed less usefully in finding how many weeks a man stands on point duty, and whether he gives all his time to it or does other things part of the time, than in collecting statistics as to the percentage of accidents. After all, an occasional fatality isn't so important as a thing that goes on all the time."

Collett: "You'll admit that the policeman on point duty is necessary. It is essential that the traffic should be directed by him in a large town, above all the centre of London."

Penman: "I think he could be replaced by mechanical signals."

Collett: "What sort of signals?"

Penman: "Well, it's not in my line, but I don't see why something couldn't be devised."

Jackson: "What sort of thing?"

Penman: "Well, I never thought about it before, but there might be a sort of post in the centre of each of the cross-roads, with collapsible arms, worked automatically and pointing in the direction the traffic is to take. Suppose the main road is going east and west, and the road crossing it goes north and south. The arms pointing east and west might be up for three minutes, then they would fall and the arms going north and south would be up for a minute. By watching the traffic for a day, one would know the average of traffic in both directions at various times of the day, and the machinery adjusting the movements of the arms could be arranged accordingly. It seems to me something of that kind would be quite feasible."

Collett: "But suppose the drivers should disregard the finger-posts: what accidents you would have; what chaos! Who would identify the miscreants and secure their punishment?"

Penman: "I don't think the drivers would disregard the signposts, but there might be some other device: you might have a metal barrier embedded in the road, that at certain intervals would be raised up to prevent anything crossing the roadway in one direction or the other."

Jackson: "I'm afraid you wouldn't get many votes for your proposition whilst so many are unemployed."

Penman: "Oh, I know, under this damnable system!"

Collett: "It seems to me under any system a country with a congested population like ours should not lightly sacrifice any means of finding employment for the people."

Penman: "I don't see why you should want to make work: all you have got to bother about is to produce the means of life for everybody, and leave us all as much freedom to do as we please, after the essential needs of the community have been met.

Collett: "I don't think you could do without the directing and coercive force of the policeman amongst the traffic, in any case.

Penman: "Well, I do; but if people think such tedious occupations are necessary, then everyone ought to take a turn at them."

Jackson: "You're riding your hobby again You ought to see R. U. R. at St. Martin's. The Rabots are a good deal better than your automatic pointsmen, because they're much more versatile. You're as mad as Capek, anyway."

Frank Penman took his leave and turned in at Vittorio's. He seated himself on the wooden bench in the alcove, and ordered a plate of spaghetti.

There he found Bistre discussing the R. U. R. with Vittorio.

"The English Press has not discovered that Rabot simply means worker," Bistre said.

A shrewd-faced old man in a red knitted waistcoat joined in the conversation, speaking Italian with an accent half Lancashire, half Spanish. He was a versatile talker, and seeing that Penman had a copy of Toller's "Machine Wreckers," he was soon discoursing on prisons and prisoners.

Penman observed that Toller's plays would not have been written had his five years' sentence been served in this country. The old man asked Penman if he had seen the debtors' prisons which have been housed in the London Museum; and in describing their situation he referred to the effigy of Queen Elizabeth in the Museum, and how she used to ride through the streets of London talking to the folk by the way. The streets were narrow, and the butcher killed his ox outside his shop. the blood and the offal lay in the streets; there was no drainage. Disgusting! The legs of the Queen's horse, and perhaps her gown, were splashed by it.

The old man's talk strolled leisurely through the countries and the centuries. His father lived at Monk's Hall, Meggles; an ancient place that had been a monastery One day, when some alterations were being made, a well-made tunnel was discovered. It led away from the hall for some distance, and ended under the site of what had been a nunnery! "When fat Henry disendowed the monasteries," said the wiseacre, "no doubt he found those old monks very corrupt."

"When you have seen the machinery of religion!" he chuckled. "The resurrection! And with our bunions? The resurrection at what age? Are we to be old or young? Are we to have our false teeth? What about the miner who has been crushed under tons of earth? Common sense!" he tapped his head. "I was brought up a Unitarian, and for my sins I was converted to the Church of England at eighteen. Now I am ruled by common sense!"

The company laughed.

Frank Penman went off towards Kingsway, where he met a procession of Roman Catholics, many women and a few men, celebrating the Tyburn Martyrs to their faith. There was a drizzling rain, and the marchers looked dispirited as they held their rosaries and murmured, rather than sang, in indistinguishable words. The passers-by observed them without interest, even without curiosity. The police shepherded them good-humouredly.

"They are living in the past," thought Penman; "they seem but half alive."

THE SEVEN THAT WERE HANGED.

(By Leonid Andreyev, a Famous Russian Author.)

XI.

ON THE WAY TO THE GALLOWS.

Before getting into the vehicles, all five of the condemned were gathered in a large cold room with an arched ceiling, resembling an abandoned office or an unused reception-room. They were permitted to talk with each other.

Only Tanya Kovalchuk took immediate advantage of the permission. The others pressed in silence hands as cold as ice or as hot as fire; dumb, trying to avoid each other's gaze, they formed a confused and distracted group. Now that they were re-united, they seemed to be ashamed of what they had felt individually in the solitude. They were afraid to look at each other, afraid to show the new, special, somewhat embarrassing thing that they felt or suspected in each other.

Nevertheless, they did look, and, after a smile or two, all found themselves at ease, as before: no change revealed itself, or, if something had happened, all had taken an equal share in it, so that nothing special was noticeable in any one of them. All talked and moved in a queer and jerky fashion, impulsively, either too slowly or too quickly. Sometimes one of them quickly repeated the same words, or else failed to finish a phrase that he had begun or thought he had already spoken. But nothing of all this did they notice. All blinkingly examined the familiar objects without recognising them, like people who have suddenly taken off their glasses. They often turned around quickly, as if some one were calling them from the rear. But they did not notice this. The cheeks and ears of Musya and Tanya were burning. At first Sergey was a little pale; he soon recovered and appeared as usual.

Vasily alone attracted attention. Even in such a group he was extraordinary and dreadful. Werner was moved, and said in a low voice to Musya, with deep anxiety:

"What is the matter with him, Musya? Is it possible that he has . . . ? Really, we must speak to him."

Vasily looked at Werner from a distance, as if he had not recognised him; then he lowered his eyes.

"But, Vasily, what is the matter with your hair? What is the matter with you? It is nothing, brother, it will soon be over! We must control ourselves! We really must!"

Vasily did not break the silence. But when they had already concluded that he would say absolutely nothing, there came a hollow, tardy, terribly distant reply, such as the grave might give up after a long appeal:

"But there is nothing the matter with me. I am in control of myself!"

He repeated:

"I am in control of myself!"

Werner was delighted.

"Good, good! You are a brave fellow! All is well!"

But when his eyes met the dark and heavy gaze of Vasily, he felt a momentary anguish, asking himself: "But whence does he look? whence does he speak?" In a tone of deep tenderness, he said:

"Vasily, do you hear? I love you much!"

"And I, too, I love you much!" replied a tongue that moved painfully.

Suddenly Musya seized Werner by the arm, and, expressing her astonishment forcibly, like an actress on the stage, she said:

"Werner, what is the matter with you? You said: 'I love you'? You never said that to anyone before. And why is your face so sparkling and your voice so tender? What is it? What is it?"

And Werner, also in the manner of an actor dwelling upon his words, answered, as he pressed the young girl's hand:

"Yes, I love, now! Do not tell the others I am ashamed of it, but I love my brothers passionately!"

Their eyes met and burst into flame: everything about them became extinct, just as all other lights pale in the fugitive flash of the lightning.

"Yes," said Musya. "Yes, Werner!"

"Yes!" he answered. "Yes, Musya, yes!"

They had understood something and ratified it for ever. With sparkling eyes and quick steps Werner moved on again in the direction of Sergey.

"Sergey!"

But it was Tanya Kovalchuk that answered. Full of joy, almost weeping with maternal pride, she pulled Sergey violently by the sleeve.

"Just listen, Werner! I weep on his account. I torment myself and he does gymnastics!"

"The Muller system?" asked Werner, with a smile.

Sergey, somewhat confused, knit his brows.

"You do wrong to laugh, Werner! I have absolutely convinced myself. . . ."

Everybody began to laugh. Gaining strength and firmness from their mutual communion, they gradually became again what they used to be; they did not notice it, and thought that they were always the same. Suddenly Werner stopped laughing; with perfect gravity he said to Sergey:

"You are right, Sergey! You are perfectly right!"

"Understand this, then!" rejoined Sergey satisfied. "Of course we . . ."

Just then they were asked to get into the vehicles. The officials even had the amability to allow them to place themselves in their own fashion, in pairs. In general, they were very amiable with them, even too much so; were they trying to give evidence of a little humanity, or to show that they were not responsible for what was taking place and that everything was happening of itself? It is impossible to say; but all those taking part were pale.

"Go with him, Musya!" said Werner, pointing the young girl to Vasily, who stood motionless.

"I understand!" she answered, nodding her head. "And you?"

"I? Tanya will go with Sergey, you with Vasily. As for me, I shall be alone! What matters it? I can stand it, you know!"

When they had reached the courtyard, the damp and slightly warm air fell softly upon their faces and eyes, cut their breathing, and penetrated their shivering bodies, purifying them. It was hard to believe that this stimulant was simply the wind, a spring wind gentle and moist.

The astonishing spring night had a flavour of melted snow, of infinite space; it made the stones re-sound. Brisk and busy little drops of water fell rapidly, one after another, making a sonorous song. But, if one of them delayed a little or fell too soon, the song changed into a joyous splash, an animated confusion. Then a big drop fell heavily, and again the springlike song began, rhythmical and sonorous. Above the city, higher than the walls of the fortress, was the pale halo formed by the electric lights.

Sergey Golovin heaved a deep sigh, and then held his breath, as if regretting to expel from his lungs air so pure and fresh.

"Have we had this fine weather long?" Werner inquired. "It is spring!"

"Only since yesterday!" they answered politely and promptly. "There have been many cold days."

One after another the black vehicles came up, took in two persons, and went away in the darkness, toward the spot where a lantern was swinging in the gateway. Around each vehicle were moving the gray outlines of soldiers; their horses' shoes resounded loudly; often the beasts slipped on the wet snow

(To be continued)

SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

By Isaac Yermont.

Whilst a large unemployed demonstration was taking place on the Parade, the Head Constable of the Criminal Investigation Department informed me that he was going to take legal proceedings against me for selling the "Workers' Dreadnought" on Sunday. I have been selling Socialist literature for the last twelve years, and always announce it from the platform. It is very remarkable that the same Head Constable, as well as Judges and Magistrates, buy the paper from me Sunday after Sunday.

In the Johannesburg Courts a miner was given the benefit of the doubt when charged with contravening mining regulations under circumstances which it was alleged led to a native losing his life. A deputy inspector of mines, who volunteered to speak in the miner's defence, said since the strike the miners had:

> "Ever so much more to do than before, and many of the miners do their best to please the bosses because of the enormous amount of unemployment about. They realise that if they do not please the bosses they might get the sack."

Almost all the Kaffir hammer boys have been done away with, as with "Jack hammers" it is considered that one boy can drill over the whole face of an ordinary stope during a shift. Where a gang of twenty or thirty hammer boys were employed drilling by hand, each boy put in what was considered a day's work—i.e., 36 inches. One boy with a Jack hammer can accomplish, and has indeed over tests carried out, 90 feet. Between 30,000 and 35,000 boys (Kaffirs) are employed on hard drilling work. More profit for the Chamber of Mines, and more unemployment for the workers!

Conditions in Cape Town at the present time are really terrible, and the street-corners round about the Post Office and Town Hall, as well as near the Docks, testify to the large numbers of idle men. That they do not make more noise is surprising. An explanation might be that they are of a really respectable class, many, or most of them, being men with trades. To effect a complete change, to abolish unemployment, it is necessary to abolish private ownership of the means of production and substitute therefore Communism, so that the surplus value created shall accrue to the community as a whole, instead of to the private owners by way of interest, rent and profit.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

There seems no early likelihood of the denunciation of the trade agreement with Russia. We were never enthusiastic about this agreement. Peace and trade with Capitalism entails the abandonment of Socialism. This has been the case in Russia. We predicted it, and we have witnessed, with sorrow, the truth of our prediction. To millions of people in Russia the relatively small import of goods from this country makes no difference at all; but the general tendency of the Government to fall into line with international Capitalism will gradually have its effect throughout the whole of Russia.

There is talk of renewed war with Russia. We do not anticipate the early outbreak of such a war. Should it come, Capitalism has more to fear from it than Communism. Another great war might well give the death-blow to the bad old system. Nevertheless, we must guard against the slothful habit of waiting till the ruling classes obligingly stage a catastrophic ending of the system. We must work unceasingly to undermine and weaken the edifice.

That poster again! One of the very best ways to help increasing the circulation is to see that your newsagent shows our poster.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

How the League of Nations "Saved" Austria.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY has published a pamphlet glorifying the yoke of foreign Capitalism placed upon Austria, in return for the loan guaranteed by the very Powers that upset Austria's economic equilibrium. When the Austrian proposals came before the House of Commons, not a voice was raised in protest, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald gave them the blessing of the Labour Party, eulogising them as beneficent and declaring the proposed foreign control necessary. The May Day resolution of the Austrian Socialist demonstrations is a timely recognition of what that foreign control means to the workers of Austria:

> "Despite its alliance with the mediaeval church, the Austrian bourgeois was hitherto unable to trample down the working class. Therefore the counter-revolution assumed the disguise of foreign control, which is constantly being intensified and threatens to become a permanent institution. The fruits of Austria's so-called "reconstruction" are unemployment and the gradual elimination of the proletariat's social and cultural advances. Seipel and Zimmermann" [the League of Nations representative in Austria] "are attempting to emasculate Parliament, discard the democratic army, and nullify the right of suffrage."

* * *

Capitalism versus Communism.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT of Great Britain has spent several days in wrestling with the question of housing the people. It has declared itself unable to solve the housing problem. The Imperial Health Minister has declared that the people are herded together without privacy, without comfort, without decency He admits that the steps taken since the war to overcome the housing shortage have been trifling, and have made no appreciable difference. The Minister and his Government **have decided to leave the matter thus, and the Imperial Parliament has** concurred in this **decision.**

Primitive man did not thus accept defeat in securing the basic necessities of existence. Primitive society worked ceaselessly to satisfy its conceptions of social and family decency. It is the race that produced Shakespeare and Milton which confesses itself unable to house its people in the seat of the Empire, in the Empire city itself. It is the race that led the modern industrial movement; that first acquired the art of mass production; the race of Watt and the other foremost pioneers of the machine age. It is the country which was the greatest producing centre of the victorious Allies in the Great War: the war that was essentially a contest in production.

The workers who produced the shells have no houses to live in. The people who are supposed to govern an Empire on which the sun never sets cannot secure houses for themselves.

What is the reason?

Everyone knows the answer: it is **Capitalism.**

Capitalism has brought is to such a pass that the interest on the money borrowed to buy the land and build the house is more than the worker can pay in rent for the house even if he pays 40 per cent. of his wage for it.

There is vacant land; there are idle materials. Upwards of a million workers are unemployed, yet the houses cannot be built.

What is the solution?

It is Communism.

How will Communism solve the problem?

By sweeping away the system of rent, interest, and profit.

Under Communism the problem will grow simple. It will resolve itself into the question: Have we the land, the materials, and the labour to build the houses the people require, and are the rest of the people prepared to supply the food, clothing, housing and other things required by the builders, so that they may be maintained whilst they are building?

The answer to that question will be: "Yes."

* * *

The Boilermakers' Lock-Out.

SOLIDARITY among the workers in the shipbuilding and engineering industries is very far away: The boilermakers were locked out on April 30th. They are fighting alone their battle on questions of overtime and night shift which affect all the other workers in the industries concerned. Yet there is so little organising capacity and good feeling amongst the various Unions that even on such an issue as this there is no agreement.

* * *

Victimisation of Norfolk Farm Strikers.

HODGE ROSE UP against oppression in Norfolk and showed that he could fight with determination against a reduction of his starvation wage of 25/- a week. Hodge, having been goaded into resistance, demanded 30/- a week and was ready to stand firm for it, whatever the struggle might cost him. Hodge was negotiated out of that position by his Union leaders and the leader of the Labour Party, who sent Hodge back to work at 25/- and told him he had won a glorious victory.

Some of the farmers decided to teach Hodge a lesson; to break his spirit, lest he should show fight again. Therefore, some of the active labourers were victimised: they were told there was no work for them to do when they returned with their fellows at the end of the lock-out.

Hodge took up the challenge: "All or none," he said; and as the news of the victimisations spread through the villages Hodge was preparing to renew the struggle.

Again the negotiators stepped in: again they went to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's room in the House of Commons. Here is Mr Macdonald's version of what happened, as given by the "Daily Herald":

> "The claim of "all or none" is no longer pressed, because both sides recognise that the practical question of reinstatement and victimisation presents difficulties which can be removed only by good will and co-operation."

* * *

Art O'Brien's Writ.

THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT is clearly on the side of Mr. Art O'Brien and the other Irish deportees who are British subjects. It says that no British subject who is an inhabitant of England may be sent prisoner into Scotland or Ireland, or any place beyond the seas; and that if he is so imprisoned he shall have treble costs and damages not less than £500.

Whoever has so imprisoned anyone shall be disabled from bearing any office of trust or profit within the realm, shall be incapable of receiving the King's pardon, and shall forfeit to the Crown their lands, goods and chattels, and shall be brought to trial for the offence.

* * *

The law is clearly on the side of the deported prisoners; but do not imagine that the law will be allowed to take its course. Either the law will be declared obsolete, or superceded by other legislation bearing upon the point, or some other loophole will be found through which to deliver the Home Secretary and the Government from their dilemma.

Even should it be necessary to pass a new Act of Parliament, the time-servers at Westminster will gladly do it to oblge the Government and to maintain its power to oppress.

* * *

Prison for Criticising Versailles Treaty.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF Nations last March, without a dissentient vote, decided that it should be an offence, punishable by fine or imprisonment, for anyone in the Saar publicly to criticise the Treaty of Versailles. The conquerors are as ruthless in their annexations as was the case in past times; but since they wish to pose as saviours, they find it advisable to suppress complaint. What have Mr. Clynes and the other "democrats" who support the League of Nations to say to this latest act of tyranny?

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Thomas and Chamberlain.

THAT THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF Employers and Employed could secure as speakers both Tory Mr. Chamberlain and the railwaymen's official, Mr. J. H. Thomas, shows how tolerant are the great Trade Unions of the Capitalist system. Were Mr. Thomas engaged in a persistent effort to abolish the wage system, he would not speak for such an organisation, nor would Mr. Chamberlain be willing to share the platform with him. Mr. Thomas has stated on oath that he is not a Socialist. So be it: he is entitled to his opinon; but those who differ from him must strive to counteract and diminish his influence over the workers.

* * *

Miss Mollie Ellis.

OF COURSE WE ALL SYMPATHISE with Miss Mollie Ellis in the hardships she suffered whilst kidnapped by the Afridis. We must remember, however, that her father was engaged in coercing the tribesmen, and that the bombs dropped upon villages from British aeroplanes respect neither women nor children, however innocent they may be.

* * *

Lloyd George and Socialism.

THE EX-PREMIER is a spent force: no one takes him very seriously nowadays. Nevertheless, he can still secure large publicity for his utterances in the newspapers, even in the "Daily Herald." Therefore, when he directs attention towards Socialism, he performs what little social service he is capable of. When people take to discussing Socialism as something that actually can, and will happen, they do a service in which, unfortunately, a large number of Socialists are apt to fail.

"I wish to become a subscriber to the 'Workers' Dreadnought.' Its independent criticism is necessary," writes a Northumberland reader.

The "Dreadnought" needs many thousand new readers. Our new supporters are frequently friends of our present readers. Those who know the paper best are its best advocates.

If you are one of those who have not contributed to the growth of the "Dreadnought" this year, will you not turn over a new leaf and send us a list of names and addresses of probable readers, with stamps to cover the cost of sending sample copies to them?

If the "Dreadnought" is not on sale at meetings in your district, if it is not stocked by your local newsagent, will you assist us in remedying the omission?

Parliament As We See It.

LITTLE OIL DEALS.

At a cost of £564,000, the Government bored for oil in this country. It found two oil wells. One of these, at D'Arcy, it disposed of to a Scottish syndicate; the other, at Hardstoft, it disposed of to the Duke of Devonshire. The result, according to the Secretary for Mines, is that the Duke and the syndicate have the oil, and the State has "only loss."

INSURANCE.

The cost of management, as compared to premiums, in various forms of insurance, is as follows:

1. **Public Health Insurance,** 13 per cent.
2. **Unemployment Insurance,** 8.3 per cent.
3. **Workmen's Compensation,** 37.04 per cent.
4. **Industrial Assurance Collecting Societies,** 43.6 per cent.
5. **Industrial Assurance Companies,** 41.3 per cent.

Our readers will observe that insurance under 1 and 2 is State insurance, and under 3, 4 and 5 is insurance by private enterprise The amounts are made up as follows:

Workmen's Compensation.

Commission, 11.39 per cent.

Other expenses of management, 25.11 per cent.

Industrial Assurance Collecting Societies.

Office salaries, 9.1 per cent.

Agents' and collectors' remuneration, 29.5 per cent.

(ther expenditure, 5 per cent.

Industrial Assurance Companies.

Commission, 22.7 per cent.

Other expenditure, 5 per cent.

cent.

Mr. T. Thompson drew this information from the President of the Board of Trade. It is a pity he failed to ask particulars as to the enormous dividends paid by the Capitalist insurance companies.

THE BOARD OF TRADE.

When asked of what persons the Board of Trade is composed, and when it last met, the President of the Board of Trade said: "I am unable to say when the Board, in its corporate capacity, last met for the transaction of business." He informed the House, however, that the constitution of the Board is set out in an Order in Council, dated August 23rd, 1786. At that Council were present the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Steward, Duke of Montagu, Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Clarendon, Earl of Courtown, Lord Amhurst, Lord Sydney, Lord Hawkesbury, Sir George Yonge, Bart., Mr. Pitt, W. W. Grenville, Esq. His Majesty dissolved a Committee of the Privy Council which he had appointed to consider all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, to appoint a new Committee of the Privy Council for the business above mentioned. To this Committee, which is called the Board of Trade, the following members were thereupon appointed by the King: The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, the First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, the Speaker of the House of Commons, also such Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council as shall hold any of the following offices: The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Paymaster, or Paymasters-General of His Majesty's Forces, the Treasurer of His Majesty's Navy, the Master of His Majesty's Mint; also the Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, and such persons as shall hold offices in His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland and shall be members of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council in his kingdom; also Lord Frederick Campbell, Robert Lord Bishop of London, Lord Grantley, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, Master of the Rolls, the Hon. Thomas Harley, the Hon. Sir Joseph Yorke, K.B., Sir John Goodriche, Bart., William Eden, Esq., James Grenville, Esq., and Thomas Orde, Esq.

How much are we still governed behind the scenes by the King, Lords and Bishops?

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Year ending December 31st, 1922:

Imported from Russia £4,986,104

Exported to Russia 1,338,082

Sir P. Lloyd-Greame (C.), President of the Board of Trade, said: "So long as the Russian Government refuse to establish a position under which credit can be given, business can only be done on the basis of cash at sight."

How much more will Capitalism demand of Russia?

OPIUM.

Three per cent. of the Indian revenue was derived from the sale of opium and opium licence fees and excise duties in 1920-21. The area under poppy in 1921 was 116,056 acres, after deducting failures.

SKIMMED CONDENSED MILK.

Skimmed condensed milk is unfit for infants. It lacks necessary nutriment. Infants fed upon it suffer from rickets and other forms of malnutrition. The import of this pernicious stuff is on the increase owing to poverty. In tne quarter endng March 31st, 1923, the import was 330,355 cwt., as compared with 278,230 cwt. in the corresponding quarter of 1922.

The Government has been asked in vain to insist upon the fixing of a label: **"Unfit for Infants!"**

Mothers know the stuff is unfit for their infants: they know that only the best and purest is fit for them. They desire only the best and purest.

We could easily produce more milk than the people could consume, and deliver it free of charge to all applicants.

SLANDERING THE WORKERS.

Mr. Ben Turner (I.L.P.) indignantly protested that Mr. Spencer (Lib.) was slandering the workpeople of Bradford by saying they give a poor output. Mr. Spencer replied: "Such a thing as slandering my friends the workpeople, from whom, and by whom, I make my living, would be the very last thing I should do. But a man may be a better friend to the workers by telling them the truth than by living on them."

HOUSING.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Minister of Health, admitted that after four years' talk of Government action regarding housing,

"We hardly seem to be any better off than before. . . . **Great masses of our people are unable to find separate dwellings for themselves, and they have to be herded together without privacy, without comfort, without almost the decencies of life.**

"The effects of this overcrowding are far-reaching. It constitutes a perpetual danger to the physical and moral health of the community. **It is, I am sure, responsible for much unrest and social discontent, although I am bound to say that anyone who is familiar with the conditions in the poorer parts of our great cities must, above all, be dominated by the feeling of admiration for the patience and the good humour with which, for the most part, these evils are borne."**

It is clear enough: the masses are herded together without privacy, comfort, or decency; yet they remain patient and good humoured. They are accorded the admiration of those who live on their toil and force them to exist under these inhuman conditions.

Patience under such conditions does not seem admirable to us, but foolish: it is a foolishness born of profound ignorance.

Mr. Chamberlain further said that the growth of the acute housing shortage dates from 1909. In the five years prior to that the net annual increase in houses under £20 a year was 80,000. In the five years after 1909 it fell to 46,000. There was, therefore, a reduction in the rate of output of 170,000 houses in the five years before the war, when house building stopped altogether.

Building of working-class houses stopped because the Capitalists found more profitable ways of employing their capital. Nevertheless, Mr. Neville Chamberlain and the Government are still looking to the private Capitalist to solve the housing problem: still anxious to preserve the housing of the workers as the prerogative of private enterprise. Mr. Chamberlain cheerfully observed:

"There has been a gradual extension of the operations of the private builder from the better class to the less good class of house. In fact, gradually the enterprise of the private builder is approaching nearer and nearer to the type of house which is desired to-day by the working class."

Anyone might have thought, to listen to the cheerful words of the right hon. gentleman, that the workers really desire to live in a poor sort of hovel, and that they absolutely refuse to occupy good houses.

EIGHTY PER CENT. ASK FOR THREE ROOMS.

When protests were raised against the miserable character of the houses the Government scheme allocates to the workers, Mr. Chamberlain smugly replied that 80 per cent of the very large number of applications for new houses made to the London County Council were for houses with not more than three rooms. Only 15½ per cent. applied for four-roomed houses, and only 4½ per cent. applied for five- and six-roomed houses. The people who applied for three-roomed houses did so only because they could not afford to pay for larger ones. If they take larger houses, says Mr. Chamberlain, "these people will be forced to take in lodgers."

That is final: Toryism has nothing further to offer the workers. They must be overcrowded because their wages are small. Their wages must remain small because Capitalist enterprise demands it. This is one of the richest, most highly productive countries in the richest, most highly productive age ever known. We can produce abundantly more than we can consume. Yet there is no hope for the workers: they must remain always in want. That is the dictum of Toryism.

THE CRUX OF THE BILL.

Mr. Chamberlain explained that the main point of his Bill was that the Government will pay subsidies for housing to local authorities for two purposes:

"First, for giving assistance to private enterprise, and second for providing houses by the local authority itself."

Before the money can be given to the local authority to provide houses on its own account, **"the authority will have to satisfy the Minister that the needs of a particular locality can best be met in that way."**

The Bill is therefore a Bill to assist private Capitalism and to **check building by local authorities.** Whilst the Tories are in power it will be difficult "to satisfy" the Minister that private enteprise with the aid of a State subsidy cannot best meet the housing needs.

THE LABOUR PARTY AMENDMENT.

So far as it has a policy, the Labour Party stands for the progressive extension of municipal and State enterprise. Therefore, if the Labour Party were consistent it would have attacked the Bill on the straight issue of its check to municipal housing. On the contrary, the following vague and composite resolution was moved:

"This House cannot assent to the Second Reading of a Bill which is inadequate to deal with the present housing shortage, ignores the difficulty of land purchase and transfer, fails to provide the means of securing a sufficient supply of building materials at reasonable prices;

throws an excessive financial burden upon local authorities, and interferes unnecessarily with their administrative powers, fails to reduce the burden of interest imposed upon dwelling-houses by the present financial system, and provides only for an unreasonably small type of house."

Several Labour Members protested that their zeal for housing was in no way dependent on the method by which it may be provided. Even Mr. Walton Newbold (C.P.) declared his intention of voting for the Government Bill, despite its inadequacy.

WHAT THE BUILDING RINGS HAVE DONE.

Mr. Wheatley (Lab.) said that when the building rings came into operation they soon put up the price. A member of the Light Castings Association told him that eighteen months after its formation it was able to put up the price of its commodities 60 per cent. That was about 1910. Between 1910 and 1913, through the operation of various combines, prices in the city of Glasgow went up 30 per cent.

A house like that proposed for the workers in the present Bill cost £200 before the war. When, under Dr. Addison, the Lloyd George Government began to subsidise housing, the building profiteers put up the prices and the pre-war £200 house then cost £1,100 to build. Moreover, the rate of interest on the capital invested rose from 3 per cent. pre-war to 6 per cent. Thus £66 a year interest had to be paid on the little house not really fit to house a family! If at the present time the houses could be got for £500, and the capital at 5 per cent., there would be £25 a year to pay to the moneylenders of the country for the smallest type of working-class house! The State subsidy was only to be granted for twenty years. Even with a £12 subsidy, it would be necessary to charge a rent which, combined with rates, would amount to £40 a year. This is 40 per cent of a 40/- weekly wage—the wage of a large proportion of workers to-day!

LLANO CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

THIS IS HOW LLANO COLONISTS AMUSE THEMSELVES WHEN THE DAY'S WORK IS DONE.

Six plays, a minstrel and numerous other selections, are preparing for the Sunday night programmes, most of which are composed of junior colonists

The weekly programmes at the Dixie Pride Theatre of New Llano are made up largely of home talent. Music, comprising vocal and instrumental solos, vocal and instrumental duets, quartettes, music by the orchestra, recitations, plays, folk dances, and lectures compose most of the numbers. As in every other community, players and actors are not as plentiful as spectators, and as the preparatory work for the social life is done outside of work hours, it means a good deal of extra work on the part of those who participate in the programmes. But those who are interested in such things, and who wish to make a better social life for all, spend many hours in preparation.

The theatre is seldom idle in the evening The schedule for practice this week is: Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings at 6.0, practice on the play "Stage Struck." It is a small sketch in three scenes, with four characters, all of whom are high school pupils. Monday at eight o'clock is the minstrel which is preparing for the last Sunday in this month. It is being prepared by Albert Jaques, and is composed of twenty-five members, ten of whom are juniors.

Tuesday evening at six o'clock is a practice of "An Old-fashioned Mother," a two-hour play in three acts, with twelve characters. They are all school children. It will be some time before it will be ready to put on, as it is just being started, and will require considerable work.

—"The Llano Colonist."

ESPERANTO.

Lesson 16.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS.

In the last lesson we saw that adjectives are compared by the use of **pli** (more) and **plej** (most), and in the case of things equal in quality by **tiel . . . kiel,** as . . . as. This applies also to adverbs—e.g., **bone,** well; **pli bone,** better ("more well"); **plej bone,** best ("most well"); **tiel bele kiel,** as beautifully as. . . .

Li skribas **pli** bele **ol** vi, he writes more beautifully than you.

Li skribas **plej** bele el ĉiuj, he writes most beautifully (out) of all.

Li skribas **tiel** bele **kiel** vi, he writes as beautifully as you.

Numbers.

1 **unu** (pronounce as "oo-noo").
2 **du** ("doo").
3 **tri** ("tree," pronounced short).
4 **kvar** (to pronounce **kv,** first form the motuh as for **k,** then pronounce **kv** without any intervening vowel—not "ker-var," but **kvar**).
5 **kvin.**
6 **ses** ("sess").
7 **sep** ("sepp").
8 **ok** (as in **oc**tagon).
9 **naŭ** (almost like **ow** in now, but the first part of the sound should be **ah**).
10 **dek** (as in **dec**ade).
100 **cent** ("**ts**ent").
1000 **mil** (the Cockney would probably pronounce this as **mee-ul.** This is, to say the least, inelegant. There is one vowel only in **mil,** and that is not long, and the **l** should be made clear by pressing the tip of the tongue above the upper teeth).

The remaining numbers are very easily formed. Take 20, 30, 40 . . . up to 90. We begin with du, tri, kvar . . . etc., and remembering that the **0** stands for ten (**dek**). we read the numbers: dudek (20), tridek (30), kvardek (40) . . . naŭdek (90); that is to say, we simply read them with their arithmetical values.

Similarly 11, 12, 13 . . . up to 19. We begin with **dek** (10), and form the numbers thus: **dek** (10), **dek unu** (11), **dek du** (12), **dek tri** (13), **dek kvar** (14), **dek kvin** (15), **dek ses** (16), **dek sep** (17), **dek ok** (18), **dek naŭ** (19). Bear in mind that the 1 in 11, etc., is really 10 in arithmetical value, and call it **dek (10).**

101 is cent unu; 421, kvar cent dudek unu; 1943, mil naŭ cent kvardek tri.

Vocabulary.

kantas	sings
dolĉe	sweetly
ol	than
ĉiuj	all
faras	everything
ĉio	do(es), make(s)
laborus	would work
afable	affable
ni	we

Translate.

Li kantis pli dolĉe ol ŝi. Vi kantas tiel dolĉe kiel li. Ŝi kantas plej dolĉe el ĉiuj Li faras ĉion pli bone ol ni. La homoj laborus pli bone sub Komunismo. Unu kaj du faras tri. Du kaj du faras kvar. Kvar kaj ses faras dek. Ses kaj ok faras dek kvar. Dek kaj dek faras dudek. Kvardek kaj dudek faras susdek. Li estis tiel afabla. Estas tricent sesdek kvm tagoj en la jaro.

KOMUNISTA MANIFESTO.

Proporcie kiel la kapitalistaro, t.e., la kapitalo, disvolviĝas, laŭ tiu sama proporcio disvolviĝas la proletariaro, la moderna laborklaso, klaso de laboristoj, kiuj vivas nur tiel longe kiel ili trovas laboron, kaj kiui trovas laboron nur tiel longe kiel ilia laboro kreskigas kapitalon. Tiuj laboristoj, kiuj devegas ain vendi pace, estas komercaĵo kiel ĉiuj alia komercaĵo, kaj sekve estas almetataj al ĉiuj malfacilaĵoj de la konkurado, al ĉiuj ŝanĝoj de la vendejaj prezoj.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

From Harrow School to Herrisen House Asylum. By Harald Hewitt. (C. W. Daniel, 3/6.)

This is the story, told by himself, of the man who stopped the leading horse in the Gold Cup race at Ascot in 1913, carrying a Suffragette flag. He had been carried away by the example of Emily Wilding Davison, who died through stopping the King's horse in the Derby as a Suffragette protest. Hewitt was a wealthy University graduate who had been an unhappy boy at school, and had been thwarted in his desire for girl companionship.

He attributed his unhappiness to the social conventions in which he had been brought up, and he was distressed by what he had learnt of white slavery and prostitution. Modern society seemed very ugly to him. He gave one-third of his income to rescue a girl from the streets.

He was severely injured by his act, and was afterwards tried and certified insane, and detained in a lunatic asylum. Eventually he escaped and went to Canada, where he had property. On arrival, he could not obtain control of his affairs until after protracted proceedings in 1916. In 1919 he decided to return to England and notified the Chief Constable of Berkshire, whereat the police wrote to the steamship company asking for information, in order to effect his arrest on arrival.

Finally his arrival in England was postponed till 1920, when he was sentenced to two days' imprisonment.

The book is an echo of a bygone agitation. The emotionalism which rose to flood-tide in the suffrage movement is always latent in outwardly matter-of-fact society, and may at any time rise again, to sweep away some abuse, to achieve some reform.

The evils that caused so many people to do unusual things in suffragette days are still with us; but most of those to whom they seemed a life-and-death concern before the war never probed deeply enough to discover the real cause of the evils, and have now forgotten all about them.

The author of this particular volume says that he is devoting his attention to educational reform. Does he work for the whole people, or only for "the classes"?

The German Revolution and After. By Heinrich Strobel (leader writer of "Vorwaerts" and Landtag Deputy). Translated by J. H. Stenning. 12/6.

The book presents a striking indictment of the German Social Democrats of the Second International. It records their outrageous jingoism during the war, showing Noske, Beims, Leinert, and other prominent leaders, to have declared in favour of annexations by a victorious Germany. Cunow, as editor of "Vorwaerts," in the first days of August published a protest against the voting of war credits; then turned a political somersault, and declared that the theories hitherto held by the Social Democrats had been false. He argued that though they had thought it right to oppose the struggle of the nations for Imperial power, history had proved them wrong. History, he insisted, is always right, as against ideology (a specious saying, often used by opportunists). Though formerly the Social Democrats had striven to prevent the advent of Imperialism, they must henceforth recognise it as an inevitable phase of Capitalism. The German working class must regard the Imperialist policy of its rulers as its own opportunity. Paul Lench, formerly editor of the Left Socialist "Leipziger Volkszeitung," hailed the emancipation of the German workers from the "obsolete" principles he had advocated. "In this world war," he said, "Germany completes its revolution" and: "At the head of the German revolution stands Bethmann Hollweg." With the victory of Germany over England, with its backward, individualist working class, there approaches "a new epoch and a new social idea, the socialised community." Ebert warmly recommended the circulation

of such writings of Lensch and Cunow, and of Conrad Hanisch, who declared that, having seen "living Germany triumph over the dead ideology of Internationalism," he could join whole-heartedly in the singing of "Deutschland, Deutschland uber Allies." "England in the war represented the reactionary, and Germany the revolutionary principle," he affirmed.

On January 9th, 1916, a Berlin conference of the German and Austrian Social Democratic Parties and the Trade Union leaders declared in favour of an Austro-German Customs and Economic Union linking up with the Balkans and Turkey. The German Social Democratic deputy, Cohen, observed with satisfaction that by this means:

> "The overland route from Berlin to Bagdad would be established, and therewith the imperialistic yearnings for world power of German politicians would be appeased."

Edward Barth pleaded that Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia should be brought into the Central European orbit.

Such are the men with whom British pacifists are now joining in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals.

The German movement was more theoretically informed, and therefore less widely gulled than the British. In the party meeting, fourteen out of the 111 Social Democratic deputies voted that they should vote against the war credits. In December the number had risen to 17; but only Karl Liebknecht had actually voted against the credits in the Reichstag itself. On March 20th, 1915, Liebknecht was joined in his vote by Ruhle and thirty other members left the Chamber when the vote came to be taken. Liebknecht and Ruhle were reprimanded by the Party majority, which manned its executive and was as fiercely opposed to them as the Kaiser himself. In June 1915 an anti-war manifesto, signed by nearly a thousand well-known party members, was circulated, and on December 21st, 1915, twenty deputies voted against the war credits in the Reichstag, after reading a counter-declaration. The Party executive denounced both these "infractors of discipline," and the Party organ, "Vorwaerts," which had supported them.

On March 24th, 1916, the anti-war minority of the Parliamentary group was excluded by the majority. In January 1917 a "working union" was formed by the minority members of the Party, but the Party executive issued a pronouncement excluding all members of the working Union from membership of the Social Democratic Party. The following Easter, at a conference held in Gotha, the working Union constituted itself the Independent Social Democratic Party. In April 1917 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg formed the Spartacus League, which later united for a short period with the Independent Party, then broke away again.

The Social Democratic deputy, Fischer, went to Switzerland to make propaganda on neutral territory in defence of German war aims and methods. Adolf Muller also worked in Switzerland as a German Government agent. The "Socialist" deputy, Sudekun, went, on behalf of the German Government, to Italy and Roumania, to make German war propaganda. Parvus, another Social Democrat, went to Denmark 'to carry on German Government war propaganda. All these were treated by the Party executive with warm cordiality, whilst it ejected Karl Liebknecht.

Presently the executive, in its effort to crush the voice of the opposition, secured the dismissal of all editors of the Party newspapers who failed to fall into line. The editorial staff of the Stuttgart Party organ was the first to go, though the great majority of the Stuttgart Party members supported the policy of the editors. When the military Command suppressed the "Vorwaerts," the Berlin Party organ, the Party executive dismissed the editorial staff and deprived the Berlin Party of all control over its organ.

Karl Legien, the President of the General Commission of Trade Unions, was devoted in his support of the Capitalist war. Already in November 1914 the General Commission had lodged a protest against the "Vorwaerts" editors, on the ground that the paper had not given space enough to Government reports of Entente atrocities. Legien was the first to demand the exclusion of Liebknecht, and those who voted with him from the Social Democratic Parliamentary group.

The Fall of the Old Regime.

Dealing with the fall of the old regime, Mr. Scrobel strongly repudiates the Ludendorff story that Germany was defeated by a "stab in the back"—the outbreak of revolution. Mr. Strobel declares that the revolution arose because militarism had fallen to pieces, and that until militarism collapsed the proletariat was powerless. Ludendorff went, he points out, on October 26th, 1918, a week before the revolutionary uprising at Kiel. The defeat of Germany in the battles of July, August and September, 1918, were, says Strobel, the cause of the revolution. Nevertheless, he shows that the seeds of revolution were germinating long before then. Ledebour, when later tried for sedition, declared that when a strike took place in the metal industry in 1916, in the minds of the Berlin workers the thought took root: "We must prepare ourselves for the revolution." A preliminary revolutionary committee had been formed already then. The great strike of January 1918 was, moreover, a serious warning of the coming revolution. Keen resentment amongst the soldiers had begun soon after the first rush of the German armies was halted and trench warfare set in:

> "In addition to the permanent danger of death, the soldier at the front had to endure the discomforts of slime, lice, and tunnels For the staff at the rear there was increased security, casinos, women and wine."

As the war dragged on, munitions grew scarce, the soldiers' ration of fats grew smaller, their bread was bad and scarce, dysentery and influenza spread amongst them Their numbers dwindled, companies waited in vain for adequate reinforcements. The Entente had the superiority in munitions, aeroplanes, transport, food, clothing, and numbers.

> "The more sparsely the front was held, the more populous became the staff officers . . . ' Whoever desired to show the importance of his work for the Fatherland, proved his indispensability by organising a staff.'"

The author quotes Karl Vetter:

> "At the beginning of September we passed through Cambrai. Here we first discovered newspapers. How big the wounds of the front had become. Marne, Rheims, Arras, Albert, Douai. The whole front reeled like a drunken man. We needed to be relieved, but no relief came. Men went into hospital and came out with open wounds. The clerks wrote for material until their fingers were sore. Nothing came, no new shirts, no new socks. The officers indulged in orgies with the army mattresses, as the women helpers were called by the sensual twenty-year-old subalterns. And when one of these subalterns, in passing the battlefield of Waterloo, made a speech against the traditional enemy, hundreds murmured and then shouted: 'Thrash him! Out with the knife!'"

Masses of men were deserting from the Colours. According to Lieut.-General V. Altrock, 10 per cent. of the relief transports sent to the field simply went back. Berlin, Cologne, and other large towns, were flooded with deserters. Mutiny was seizing whole bodies of troops, being transferred from east to west, now that Russia had collapsed. Numerous bands of troops were crossing the Dutch frontier.

The German front was collapsing. The workers were rising in the rear.

Heinrich Strobel takes a moderate position in describing the events which followed. Though he cannot refrain from denouncing the iniquitous treachery of the Social Democrats, yet he does not approve the policy of the Spartacists. Yet, in spite of the fact that he lacks a first-hand inside knowledge of the Spartacist movement, his narrative is in many respects so valuable that we shall give a further account of his book in next week's issue. The history of the German revolution and counter-revolution is of such outstanding importance that we urge our readers to make as close a study of it as possible.

ESPERANTO AND THE POLICE.

"La Policisto" is an International Review in Esperanto, and is the organ of the International Police, the International League of Post Office Esperantists, and the International Association of Railway Esperantists. The Review is published in Budapest, and is in its second year. The Police International League, "La Polica Liga," is holding the first international police conference at Nuremburg from July 30th to August 1st.

The circular of invitation says that the League:

> "Aims at direct action between all sections of the world's police forces, and seeks to evolve scientific police methods, to interchange information, and to utilise the results."

Since we are engaged in the effort to abolish the social order which is maintained by the police force, we cannot feel any enthusiasm for "scientific police methods." If, however, such conferences tend to such enlightenment of the policeman as will induce him to loathe his profession, they may fulfil some useful function as well as that of teaching him Esperanto. The Police League is apparently not a proletarian organisation, as the higher officials take part in it.

LINES FROM RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Be ready to launch forth, my heart!
And let those linger who must.
For your name has been called in the morning sky—
Wait for none.
The desire of the bud is for the night and dew, but the blown flower cries for the freedom of light.
Burst your sheath, my heart, and come forth!

* * *

When I lingered among my hoarded treasure I felt like a worm that feeds in the dark upon the fruit where it was born.
I leave this prison of decay.
I care not to haunt the mouldy stillness, for I go in search of everlasting youth; I throw away all that is not one with my life, not as light as my laughter.
I run through time and, O my heart, in your chariot dances the poet who sings while he wanders.

* * *

To move is to meet you every moment, fellow-traveller!
It is to sing to the falling of your feet.
He whom your breath touches does not glide by the shelter of the bank.
He spreads a reckless sail to the wind and rides the turbulent water.
He who throws his doors open and steps onward receives your greeting.
He does not stay to count his gain or to mourn his loss; his heart beats the drum for his march, for that is to march with you every step, fellow-traveller!

"Know thyself" was written over the portal of the antique world. Over the portal of the new world, "Be thyself" shall be written.—Oscar Wilde.

FORMATION OF COMMUNIST WORKERS' GROUP.

Inaugural meeting Dockers' Hall, Plymouth, next week. Date and time from Mrs. Dennis, 28 Wolsdon Street, Plymouth.

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THE WORKERS' STORES.

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COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.
Central London Group meets Thursdays, 152 Fleet Street, 8 p.m. For Group business, 9 to 10 p.m.

ASPIRATIONS

"The masses are so backward: they don't even think they are entitled to butter instead of margarine. If you can only get them to want butter instead of margarine: that's an aspiration!"

So cried the spokesman of opportunism in a debate the other day. As he spoke, fellow-worker, he threw out an arm, raised his voice to a shout, and struck an effective attitude, waiting for the gallery to applaud the pretence that the masses cannot be taught to desire Socialism.

It is the fashion nowadays to decry the masses. But the masses, fellow-worker, are, after all, not far removed from us. We belong to them, fellow-worker, however superior we may have grown.

Is it true, fellow-worker, that even the poorest of the masses, to whom we belong, remember, have no aspirations?

Have you noticed in the market streets where the poorest mothers of the masses go to shop on Saturday, how many of the women anxiously count over their scanty money, and spare enough for a bunch of flowers?

Did it ever occur to you, fellow-worker, that the poor mother who deprives her household of some more material thing to buy a bunch of flowers, is thereby giving expression to the aspiration we also feel towards beauty and spirituality? Even the pinch of poverty has not crushed it out of her.

That aspiration towards beauty is a human attribute. It is rooted in all of us, fellow-worker, though we show it in different ways, and many of us have become too shy and timid to speak of it.

You will have noticed, fellow-worker, that not so many women, perhaps, are carrying flowers home from the market now, and that their bunches are smaller than they were during the war. The desire for the flowers is as strong as ever, though there are fewer coins in the mother's purse to-day.

The superior persons may tell you, fellow-worker, that the masses are devoid of aspirations: that they really desire Mr. Chamberlain's model dwellings, and the skimmed milk that is unfit for infants' food.

Such things may be said; but you know, fellow-worker, that when, and as, the income of the poorest begins to increase, their consumption and aspirations increase with it.

You also know, fellow-worker, that the poor are not content with their poverty. They submit to it only because they know no means of escape from it.

Show them the way out from poverty into plenty. Who is there that will not rush out with enthusiasm and with joy?

Not one, fellow-worker: not one will lag behind.

The workers do not love their poverty, you know it well, fellow-worker; they do not love to be poor and to be wage-slaves; but they do not know the way to escape from their conditions.

For generations they have been told that there is no way to rise from the mire of poverty, except by climbing upon the backs of one's fellows. They have been taught that the only thing to do is to practice thrift; to save money, in order that they may live on the labour of others; either directly, by becoming employers of labour, or landlords drawing rents; or indirectly, by investing their money in shares and drawing dividends made by other people's work.

The worker who cannot hope to live on the labour of others by thrift, follows such examples as Bottomley, and tries betting as a more likely means of getting something for nothing.

Do not blame your ignorant brothers and sisters, fellow-worker, they do but follow the advice of their pastors and masters.

It takes time and effort to eradicate such old and widespread example and precept.

Do not crow over your ignorant brothers and sisters: do not play the superior person towards them.

Simply tell them what you know. Show them the way out that has been shown to you. If you are capable of teaching, fellow-worker, never fear: others will be capable of learning from you.

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COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Friday, May 11th.—Broad Street and Berwick Street (off Oxford Street, W.), 7.30 p.m. W. Pratt, L. Goldstein, J. Humphrey.

Navayuga, an independent weekly devoted to national and international problems, edited by G. V. Krishna Rao, Gandhipet, Guntur, Madras, India, 12/- a year.

GRAND CARNIVAL.

Saturday, May 5th.
CIRCLE GAULOIS,
12 Archer Street, Shaftesbury Avenue.
JAZZ BAND.
STREAMERS. HATS. BALLOONS.
M.C.s: Dave Goldberg, G. Fletcher.
7.30 to 11 p.m.

DANCES.

Circle Gaulois, 12 Archer Street, Shaftesbury Avenue. Select Jazz Band. Single tickets, 1/6; double, 2/6. Refreshments at popular prices.

Thursday, May 3rd, 7.30-11 p.m.
Saturday, May 12th.

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